THE

COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

(Official Report)

VOLUME II

SECOND SESSION

OF THE

COUNCIL OF STATE, 1921

SIMLA
SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
1921

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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Saturday, the 17th September, 1921.

The Council met in the Council Chamber at Eleven of the Clock. The Honourable the President was in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Wagons for Transport of Food-stuffs.

119. The Honourable Raja MOTI CHAND : (*a*) Are the Government aware that for a considerable time past there have been great difficulties in obtaining the use of wagons by tradesmen for transport of food-stuffs and other goods in consequence of which markets have been glutted ? 11 A.M.

(*b*) If so, do the Government propose to take steps, at an early date, to remove these difficulties ?

The Honourable Mr. J. A. RICHEY : (*a*) and (*b*) Government are aware that, until recently, the position on railways generally as regards wagon supply was difficult. This was due in a great measure not only to the fact that as the result of the war wagons themselves were short, but also to the absorption of a large proportion of the available supply in the coal traffic. The coal position however is easier, and the wagon position generally has much improved. Temporary congestions on particular railways are always likely to occur, but railways generally are reported to be coping satisfactorily with public demands for wagons.

It is anticipated that some 6,000 wagons will be added to the stock during the current year.

High Prices of Food-stuffs.

120. The Honourable Raja MOTI CHAND : In view of the admittedly high prices of food-stuffs obtaining in the country at the present time, will the Government be pleased to state what action, if any, they propose to take to meet the abnormal conditions ?

The Honourable Mr. B. N. SARMA : The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the Press Communiqué of the 2nd September.

I understand that steps are being taken by the Governments of the United Provinces and the Punjab to help local bodies to open cheap grain shops.

Profiteering among Merchants.

121. The Honourable Raja MOTI CHAND : (*a*) Are the Government aware that there is at the present time a good deal of profiteering among food-grain merchants ?

(*b*) If so, do the Government propose to take steps to remove this state of affairs ?

The HONOURABLE MR. B. N. SARMA: (*a*) Government do not know the extent, if any, to which profiteering exists.

(*b*) Inquiries are being made and Government are considering what steps can be taken, but they do not, as at present advised, consider that any useful purpose would be served by interfering with trade.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

122. The HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: (*a*) Are the Government aware of the diversity in weights and measures obtaining in the country?

(*b*) Do the Government propose to take steps to standardise weights and measures for the whole of British India?

The HONOURABLE MR. E. M. COOK: Government are aware that great diversity exists. The Council will have an opportunity of considering the whole subject on the Resolution which the Honourable Dr. Ganganath Jha proposes to move.

The HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: I do not propose to ask Question No. 123, Sir, as it will be covered by the Resolution which I shall move to-day.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Does the Honourable Member in charge desire to answer the Question?

The HONOURABLE MR. B. N. SARMA: No, Sir.

Question No. 123 was therefore withdrawn.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have received private notice of a question which does not appear on the paper, but I consider it to be of public importance. I, therefore, call upon the Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy to read the question of which he has given me private notice.

AFFAIRS IN MALABAR.

The HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: Can Government give the Council any further information about affairs in Malabar?

The HONOURABLE MR. H. D. CRAIK: Following is the general purport of a telegram received from the Government of Madras on the 14th of September. In the light of information elicited during the visit to Malabar of His Excellency the Governor of Madras, it appears that the position is still serious. The spirit of the rebellion is unbroken, and, except in the immediate vicinity of troops and close to the railway, the life and property of non-Muhammadans are unsafe. Roads and bridges repaired by troops are broken after they have passed. On the 12th September, the office of the Sub-Registrar at Manmaar Ghât was destroyed. The interior of the taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad is still in the hands of rebels, of whom five bodies, estimated to have a total strength of three thousand, are known to be in existence. The military are experiencing difficulty in dealing with them owing to their mobility and our difficulties regarding transport and communications. It is impossible to

re-establish police stations, and still more so to re-open the ordinary Courts and offices, or even to ascertain the amount of damage done to private and public property. At present all that is possible is to maintain close association between the civil and military authorities, and to provide for the trial of those who have been arrested for serious offences. The Collector of Malabar has started a relief fund, but till normal conditions are restored, its administration will be impracticable. The trials that have taken place are for offences against the ordinary law in normal times, *e. g.*, dacoity, arson, robbery, extortion, damage to railway and telegraph and not merely for any breach of special regulations. It has not been possible to capture many wounded rebel prisoners, but the few taken are being looked after in exactly the same way as our own men. At present it is quite impossible to forecast when the termination of Martial Law will be practicable.

The HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI: May I ask a supplementary question, Sir? Is it a fact that large bodies of Moplahs are actively engaged in helping Government and are placing their assistance at the disposal of Government?

The HONOURABLE MR. H. D. CRAIK: Not so far as I have heard.

GOVERNMENT BUSINESS FOR 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1921.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I would ask the Honourable Member representing Government if he is prepared to make a statement of Government business to be brought forward on the 19th of September.

The HONOURABLE MR. B. N. SARMA: A complete agenda is being circulated to Honourable Members to-day, but provisionally it has been arranged that the Home Department will move that a Bill in respect of firing on mobs be taken into consideration and that the Bill be passed. They will also move that a Bill to amend the Cattle-trespass Act be taken into consideration and move that the Bill be passed; that the Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Court-fees Act be referred to a Joint Committee; also that a Bill to enable Commissioners for recording evidence of British Courts be taken into consideration.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I understand that the agenda will be circulated.

BILLS AS PASSED BY LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY LAID ON TABLE.

The HONOURABLE MR. H. MONCRIEFF SMITH: Sir, in accordance with rule 25 of the Indian Legislative Rules, I lay on the table copies of Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting on the 15th September 1921. They are:—

(1) A Bill further to amend the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881;

(2) A Bill further to amend the Indian Post Office Act, 1898;

(3) A Bill further to amend the Indian Marine Act, 1887;

(4) A Bill further to amend the Indian Works of Defence Act, 1903.

[Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna.]

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I particularly invite the attention of Honourable Members to rules 26 and 27.

We will now resume the interrupted debate.

RESOLUTION *RE*: CECIL RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS.

THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA: Mr. President, I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name and runs as follows:— 11-10 A.M.

> 'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to request the Secretary of State for India to apply to the Trustees of the "Cecil Rhodes Scholarships Settlement" to transfer to Indian students the scholarships reserved under the Settlement for German students which have been discontinued since the war, and further that, in the event of such transfer not being possible for any reason, to apply to the Trustees and, if necessary, to the Executors to create new scholarships for the benefit of Indian students.'

I take it, Sir, that my Resolution will commend itself not only to every individual member of this Council, but also to Government. The "Cecil Rhodes Settlement" has been acknowledged, and rightly acknowledged, as one of the greatest benefactions made by any philanthropist in the early part of this century. It came into existence soon after the death of the donor in 1902. Cecil Rhodes was the son of a clergyman, and being one of nine sons, had to leave home early in life to earn a living for himself. He decided to proceed to South Africa to join his brother in farming. This he did in 1870. Just a year previous, in 1869, the first South African diamonds were found, and there was consequently a very heavy rush to the diggings. Rhodes was drawn into the movement and met with success. Within three years he made enough to enable him, if he so chose to do, to realise his heart's desire to have a University education. He therefore sailed for Home in 1873, passed the Oxford Matriculation and joined Oriel College. It happened, however, that his health at this time gave way, and a specialist he consulted gave it as his opinion that Rhodes had only six more months to live if he persisted in staying in the old country. There was no other recourse left for him but to return to South Africa, which he did. So determined was he however to get a University degree that, during the next eight years, whenever his health and his means permitted, he returned to Oxford for brief spells just to put in more terms, and eventually succeeded in graduating in 1881. Thereafter, Rhodes stayed in South Africa continuously and he rose very soon to great eminence, not only as a businessman but as a politician. After his return from Oxford to South Africa and being fresh from the University atmosphere, he conceived the idea that a closer consolidation of the British Empire into an organic whole would be an object of supreme political importance, not only for his own nation, but for the world at large. The Imperial idea was the point from which he started. He believed in the British Empire and in its efficiency for doing good. He wished to see the various parts of the Empire drawn closer together, not as an agency of aggression, but in the interests of peace, industry and civilisation. For this end he believed in the full advantages of citizenship to every one who chose to become a member of the Empire and a full share in its work to be extended to civilised men of any race or creed, provided they came within its bounds and accepted its ideas of free government.

According to Rhodes himself, he received great inspiration in his college days from a sentence he read in Aristotle, *viz.*, that "the greatest happiness in

life is to be derived from a conscious pursuit of a great purpose." Rhodes conceived such a great purpose for himself. He believed in, and worked for, the unity of South Africa from the time he entered public life in that country. He believed further in the unification of the great British Empire, and he also hoped that there would be a closer affinity as time went on between the different Anglo-Saxon races. For this purpose he strove, and strove strenuously, during his short life and when he died at the early age of 49 possessed of millions, he devoted the bulk of his fortune for founding scholarships to enable students from the different Colonies as also from the different States in the United States of America to proceed to Oxford to receive the benefit of University education. The motive which induced Rhodes to allow his generosity to take this particular shape is best explained by him in his will where he says :

'Whereas I consider education of young colonists at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views, for their instruction in life and manners and for instilling into their minds the advantages to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire.

Rhodes held that, if young men, working in different capacities throughout the Empire could be made familiar with each other in their youth and by an education in common, grow into mutual understanding, that it would go a long way to solve the problem of united action when the necessity for the same should arise. This Council will therefore see that the underlying idea of these scholarships was the unification of the British Empire, and he hoped that the scholarships would lend an impulse to that great cause.

From a publication issued by one who has had much to do in connection with the framing of the regulations for these scholarships, a publication to which I am indebted for most of my remarks, I find that Rhodes in his will has left a very wide discretion to the Trustees in the matter of administering this fund; confining his directions chiefly to a general statement of principles. In the will itself Rhodes has given scholarships to students from the different Colonies in the Empire and to students from the United States of America. Each of these scholarships was to be tenable for three years, and is for £300 per annum. The will was made in 1899, but two years later by a codicil Rhodes gave five more scholarships, and these were expressly reserved for German students to promote his idea of a closer affinity between Anglo-Saxon races, and my Resolution seeks for the transfer of these scholarships meant for German students for the benefit of students in this country. The German scholarships were originally for £250. These, I find, were also raised subsequently to £300 per annum.

India, Sir, was not as much to the fore in world politics at the date when Rhodes made his will in 1899, or when he made his codicil in 1901—as it is now, and were Rhodes alive to-day a man with his deep-rooted ideas of the retention of the unity of the British Empire, he would certainly not have excluded India from his benefactions. On the contrary, I submit, that were he alive to-day, he would assuredly have made a second codicil by which he would have given to India not five, but twice or three times as many scholarships. The statement that I make that Rhodes would have done so is borne out by his speeches, and for the benefit of the Council I may be permitted to read two or three small extracts which, I hope, will convince the Council that Rhodes would

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by no means have left out India. On one occasion at a speech he made in the Cape Assembly, he said :

> 'The supremacy of my country was due to its adherence to two cardinal axioms, that the word of the nation when once pledged is never broken, and that when a man accepted the citizenship of the British Empire, there was no distinction between the races.'

He was equally if not more insistent on another occasion when in reply to a deputation of coloured people in South Africa he said :

> 'My motto is equal right for every civilised man, and what is a civilized man?—a man, whether black or white who has sufficient education to write his name, has some property or works, in fact is not a loafer.'

and, Mr. President, there is yet another quotation which is still more pertinent. It is to be found in the directions and suggestions he has given for the selection of scholars, and to this I would draw the particular attention of my Colleagues in the Council. This is what he observed :

> 'No student shall be qualified or disqualified for election to a scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions.'

Could anything be more emphatic ? And I contend, Sir, that an Empire Builder, as Cecil Rhodes has rightly been called, would certainly not have excluded India from the benefit of his endowment if he had lived only a few years longer. If the Trustees therefore now accede to our request, they will be doing nothing more than furthering the intentions of the great donor.

These German scholarships I have referred to were discontinued after the commencement of the Great War in 1914, but to enable the Trustees to do so, it was necessary for an Act of Parliament to be passed. A Bill was therefore introduced in the year 1916, and clause 4 of the Bill reads as follows :

> 'The Trustees shall as soon as practicable after the passing of this Act establish for male students 12 scholarships of the value of £300 each to be tenable at any College in the University of Oxford for three consecutive academical years by students, or from such Colonies, dependencies or places within the British Empire as the Trustees may from time to time determine in substitution for the scholarships established pursuant to the German codicil which cease to be payable under the provisions of this Act."

I have not been able to obtain a copy of the Act, and I do not know what shape this Bill assumed when it became an Act, but I have reasons to believe that this particular clause which I have quoted has not been altered. If that be so, the Council will see that the Trustees have taken to themselves the very wide powers of giving these scholarships to any one they pleased in any part of the British Empire without any restriction whatever. This was in 1916. It is five years since then, and we know that no scholarships have yet been allotted to India. We do not know the reasons for this, although, as I say according to the powers the Trustees have taken to themselves, they could have done so. It may be that at that date all the available scholarships were disposed of, for, Mr. President, about the year 1916 or 1917 a question was asked in the House and from the reply given to it, it appears that on that date there were 62 scholarships distributed as follows :—

South Africa	11
Australia	7
Canada	10
Jamaica and Bermudas	2
United States of America	32
Total ...	62

If for any reason therefore, namely, that they have previously committed themselves or that there is any legal hitch, the Trustees cannot now divert any of the existing scholarships, the point I want to make out is that so far as I know the income of the Trustees for these scholarships is a steadily growing revenue, and I believe that in course of time they will have to found more scholarships, and we shall be content and more than content if an assurance is given to us by the Trustees that future scholarships will be devoted for the benefit of students in this country.

If we fail in this, there is yet another quarter we may well approach. Whilst the Scholarship Settlement was made a Trust, Rhodes after setting apart large sums for specific purposes has left the remainder of his fortune to a chosen group of personal friends for them to carry out and further the plans which engaged his mind in his life-time for the benefit of South Africa, as also for the benefit of the Empire in general. Therefore, Sir, if the Trustees of the Settlement fail to respond to our request, the Right Honourable the Secretary of State may be requested to approach the Executors. At no time has there been a greater necessity for a closer understanding between the British and the Indians as at present. Therefore, whenever any such opportunity offers itself, I think it ought to be availed of to its fullest extent by either side. It is a fortunate circumstance that, among the Executors and the Trustees, there are such broad-minded and sympathetic Statesmen as Viscount Grey, Lord Milner and others. Lord Rosebery was one of the first Trustees, but I understand he has resigned and his place has been taken by some other Englishman of eminence. If these Executors acquiesce in our request, they will, as I say, not only further the intentions of the illustrious donor, but will help to vindicate that cardinal axiom on which Rhodes laid such great stress—that "when a man becomes a member of the British Empire, no matter whatever his race or creed, there is to be no distinction between races."

Mr. President, during the last few years Indian students have been experiencing very great difficulty in gaining admission into the different colleges of the Universities in the United Kingdom. This causes discontent and in some cases disaffection. If, therefore, at a time like this we had some Indian Rhodes Scholars who could have got admission very easily into Oxford colleges, they would be the means of bringing about a better understanding between Indian students and other students in the Universities of the United Kingdom. I have said, Sir, that if there were Indian Rhodes scholars they would have been admitted readily into the Oxford colleges. It is well known that, while the Oxford colleges are chary in admitting students who come from anywhere, they receive with open arms Rhodes scholars no matter from where they hail, knowing full well that they are the picked men from different countries, and knowing also that if such men are admitted into their respective colleges, they will do credit to their institutions.

The first Rhodes scholars arrived in Oxford in 1903 and were of course very few in number at that date. By 1912, the number rose to 700, and to-day I would not be surprised if the number is nearer 2,000 than 1,500. If, out of this large number, there were say only 100 Rhodes Indian scholars, they by their superior education would undoubtedly be occupying positions of trust and responsibility in this country, and, as such, at the present time would have proved a most valuable asset, because, if for nothing else, in

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bounden duty and out of gratitude to the great donor by whose beneficence they had received a University education, they would have done all they could to promote the aim and object of the founder, namely, the retention of the unity of the Empire and, consequently, a closer relationship between the British and the Indians.

Sir, I have referred to the disabilities under which Indian students suffer at present in getting admission to the colleges. To remove these disabilities, a committee has recently been appointed, and in answer to a question put by my Honourable friend Mr. Bhurgri in this Council Government replied two days ago that this Committee will be continuing its deliberations in England till the end of this month. I do hope it will be possible to convey to the Committee the contents of this Resolution if passed, for any intervention on their part will, I am sure, prove of invaluable help. That Committee, Sir, is presided over by Lord Lytton. Lord Lytton is the present Under Secretary of State for India, and we know that he has as much sympathy, and evinces as keen an interest in all that pertains to the welfare of India as does his distinguished chief, the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu: and let us hope that, between them, they will render yet one more service to this country and prevail upon the authorities—I mean the Cecil Rhodes Executors and Trustees—to devote at least a few of the Rhodes scholarships expressly for the benefit of Indian students.

11-33 A.M.

The HONOURABLE MR. A. H. FROOM: Sir, I think that the members of this Council will appreciate the feelings which prompted my Honourable friend Mr. Sethna to introduce this question of the allocation of a certain number of Rhodes scholarships to students from India. In fact, the terms of the late Mr. Rhodes' will seem to provide room for this. As already pointed out by Mr. Sethna, one of the clauses,—and I think I also may repeat the clause—reads:

'No student shall be qualified or disqualified for election to a scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions.'

Unfortunately, I understand that the scholarships reserved for German students, which were withdrawn, soon after the outbreak of war, by special legislation in England, had already been allocated elsewhere, and they are not therefore available for students from this country. The Honourable Mr. Sethna in his Resolution appears to have anticipated this, for, as an alternative, he suggests that the Executors of Mr. Rhodes' will should create new scholarships for the benefit of Indian students. No doubt, Mr. Sethna has in view that the capital fund of the Rhodes scholarships must of necessity increase as time goes on, when the deaths occur of certain beneficiaries under the will, but, to my mind, the question presents itself as to whether it would be consistent with the dignity of this Council to accept the Resolution, which is in the nature of a supplication to the Trustees. In his will Mr. Cecil Rhodes allocated scholarships to many countries. The Honourable Mr. Sethna has referred to them, but I do not think I should be wearying the Council if I again enumerated them to show the ideas the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes had in his mind. In the Colonies, he included Rhodesia, the Provinces of South Africa, the States of the Commonwealth of Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, the Island of Newfoundland and its dependencies, the Islands of Bermuda, and the Island of Jamaica. Then followed America, and lastly, according to a codicil in his will, Mr. Rhodes included Germany. India was not mentioned, although I

cannot help thinking with my friend Mr. Sethna that, had the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes been alive to-day (he died in 1902) and had been able to follow the progress of India during the past 20 years, he would have included this country in the great benefits conferred under his will. The fact remains, however, that India was not mentioned, and for that reason, I would rather that the Trustees came forward and offered scholarships to Indian students, than that this Council should pass a Resolution applying for them. Therefore, while in entire agreement with the idea which prompted my Honourable friend to bring this question before the Council, I venture to suggest that his wishes would be met if Government undertook to communicate with the Rhodes Trustees and expressed the feelings of the Members of the Council of State in the matter rather than that a Resolution should be adopted, which appears to me to be in the light of an appeal for participation in a privilege which might more appropriately be offered than asked for. There is another point, Sir. No doubt the debate on this question, which is one of absorbing interest, will be read widely throughout India: and it will not have been in vain if it stirs some patriotic citizen to come forward and found scholarships for Indians at either Oxford or Cambridge University.

It is not even necessary to be dead before creating a fund for such a noble purpose. The provision of a few scholarships on the lines of the Rhodes Scholarships would not require a very large capital fund, and such Scholarships, in addition to immortalising the name of the donor, would provide an invaluable opportunity for a number of students,—unable themselves to afford a finishing education at either of the great Universities,—to acquire a broader knowledge of the affairs of the British Empire than can be learnt from studies in this country alone.

Sir, my earlier remarks will have shown that I am in close sympathy with the ideas of the Honourable Mr. Sethna, but I consider it would be more appropriate to the standing of the Council of State if he would withdraw his Resolution, on Government undertaking to represent in the proper quarter at Home India's undoubted interests in any new allocation of the scholarships founded by the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

11-41 A.M.

The HONOURABLE MR. J. A. RICHEY: Sir, I may begin by assuring the Members of this House that the Government of India are in cordial sympathy with the object of this Resolution. Indeed, the question of awarding a certain number of Rhodes scholarships to India was taken up in 1916 by the Secretary of State when the Bill to which the Honourable Mover has alluded was before the House of Commons, and was brought to the notice of the Trustees of the Rhodes estate. A statement to this effect was made by Sir Sankaran Nair in the late Council in reply to a question by the Honourable Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy in 1917. The question was further raised, as the Honourable Mover has mentioned, by Sir Charles Yate in the House of Commons in 1916. The Act transferring the power to distribute the German scholarships was passed in that year, and clause 4, the draft of which has been read out by the Honourable Mover, was passed in substantially the form in which he read it to this House. The Trustees then re-distributed the German scholarships under the powers conferred on them by the Act, but they allotted no scholarships to India. Whether they will, in future, be able to do so depends, firstly, on their interpretation of the wishes of the

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distinguished founder of these scholarships, and, secondly, on the resources at their disposal.

As to the wishes of the late Mr. Rhodes, I think the Honourable Mr. Sethna has made quite clear what Mr. Rhodes' ideal was when he founded these scholarships. To my mind his intention was to bring together in one atmosphere of culture and common thought the future leaders of the British Empire and the Anglo-Saxon race, in order to inspire them with common ideals for the promotion of peace and unity. In order to secure that, as far as possible, the scholarships should be awarded to those who would be leaders in the several States and countries to which they were allotted, he devised a unique system of selection, to which the Honourable Mover has not made reference. These scholarships are not awarded as scholarships usually are solely on intellectual attainments. Three other factors are taken into account, namely, athletic prowess, qualities of leadership and popularity with their fellow students. The House will, I am sure, excuse me mentioning this point when I tell them that I was privileged to be one of the judges at the award of the first Rhodes scholarship, and that under the personal direction of Mr Rhodes himself. And here I would add a foot-note to the history which the Honourable Mr. Sethna has been giving us of Mr. Rhodes' life. In 1901, the last year of Mr. Rhodes' life, this idea of founding scholarships for the Anglo-Saxon race and for the members of the British Empire was before his mind, and he wished to test the method of selection which I have just described to you. He selected for that purpose a college near Cape Town at which, as it happened, I was at that time a Professor, and we conducted the first selection of the first Rhodes scholar. Though he was not called a Rhodes scholar then, and the Honourable Mr. Sethna was correct in saying that the first Rhodes scholarship was not awarded till 1903. Yet he was awarded a scholarship by Mr. Rhodes of the value of the present scholarships and he was selected upon methods approved by Mr. Rhodes and under his personal direction. The experiment was most interesting and Mr. Rhodes himself was so satisfied with the result of the method of selection, that he carried out his original intention and instituted this world-wide system of Rhodes' Scholarships. You will understand, therefore, that scholars selected under this system are different in a way to holders of ordinary scholarships. They are expected to be leaders or to have the qualities of leadership, and also to show some skill in athletics or some form of sport. I think that we may all be confident that, if Rhodes scholarships are allotted to India, representatives from this country will uphold the honour of India in other spheres of University activity just as our Government Scholarship holders have done in the field of learning. I also have no doubt that, had Mr. Rhodes been alive at the present moment and drawing up his scheme of scholorships for the first time, he would have included India in the list of countries to which scholarships should be allotted.

Turning to the question of funds, I regret to have to inform the House that there are at present no scholarships available which can be allotted to India, and that we have learnt that the Trustees do not anticipate that they will have funds for the award of fresh scholarships for some years. However, when we received notice of this Resolution, we communicated with the Secretary of State by cable and have just received a reply from him, to the effect that he has been in communication with the Secretary of the Rhodes' Trustees, and that, if this Resolution is passed by the Council, the Secretary

has promised to lay it before the Trustees at their next meeting. More than that I do not think we can expect.

Whether this Resolution will be passed by this Council or not now appears to depend on the opinion of the Council, on the Honourable Mr. Froom's suggestion that it would be beneath our dignity to make a request of this kind. I do not feel that myself. I eel that this is a very natural method of bringing to the notice of the Trustees a question which is not before them, and not likely to be before them for some years. It is possible that, if we do not lay our claims before them now, other parts of the Empire may, during the next few years, be less bashful, shall I say, and that, when the next scholarships are allotted, the claims of India will again be overlooked.

I have, therefore, much pleasure in accepting this Resolution on behalf of Government.

The HONOURABLE MR. A. H. FROOM : May I rise to make a personal explanation ? In my remarks I did not suggest that no representation should be made by Government to the Trustees. I laid great stress that there should be, so that when the next allocation of scholarships comes before the Trustees, the claims of India may not be overlooked.

11-48 A.M.

The HONOURABLE SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH : Sir, I wish to associate myself with the remarks which the Honourable Mr. Froom made when he said that it would be more appropriate if these scholarships were offered freely by the Trustees instead of this Council passing a Resolution and asking for them. The self-respect of India demands that we should not pass any such Resolution in this Council for a great many reasons. One of the most momentous reasons, to my mind, is that at the recent Imperial Conference which was held in England, it was South Africa that denied equal right to India ; and surely we are not going to ask South Africa to give us these few paltry scholarships. I think our merchant princes in Bombay and Calcutta will be able to provide more scholarships than we want, and possibly the day may come when these scholarships may be distributed far and wide over the Empire. I believe firmly in the coming together of the different parts of the Empire, but I do not think that in this Council we should move a Resolution asking for a few scholarships, which surely our own people can easily provide.

11-51 A.M.

The HONOURABLE SIR E. HOLBERTON : Sir, I have been induced to rise and make a few remarks in opposition to the position taken up by my Honourable friend, Mr. Froom. I had not considered that it was in any way beneath the dignity of this Council to ask for money which had been made available by a great citizen of the Empire for citizens of the Empire. Nor do I at the present moment in any way recede from that opinion. And I cannot help feeling some regret that the Honourable Sardar Jogendra Singh has thought it necessary to bring into this debate the slightest hint of a political nature. Mr. Rhodes was a citizen of the Empire. He was only by accident born, brought up and had his business, in Africa ; and I really and truly hope that the Council will be able to leave any idea of the question of South Africa out of the debate. Apart from that, this is a question, I think, on which it is necessary and desirable that the Council of State should give their opinion. I am myself a little tired and a little anxious over the procedure which has rather

[Sir E. Holberton]

come into force in this House of withdrawing motions not cleanly but, as our President so necessarily told us yesterday, with riders. Now the danger of these riders is that it is quite unknown whether they really carry the approval of the House or not. For instance, supposing the Honourable Mr. Sethna asked for leave to withdraw his Resolution on Government undertaking to put forward his petition or his suggestion to the Government at Home and to the Rhodes Trustees, the Government would be in the unpleasant position of undertaking to put forward a recommendation which had never been voted on by this House at all. They would be quite unable to know what the real feeling of this House on the subject was. Therefore, Sir, I do suggest that this Resolution should not be withdrawn on any such undertaking, but that it should either be withdrawn altogether, or that it should be put to the House and, if necessary, taken to a division; and I earnestly hope that when that does happen, the feeling of the Council will be found to be very strongly in favour of the very patriotic and proper motion which has been put forward by the Honourable Mr. Sethna.

11-53 A.M. The HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: Sir, I wish to associate myself fully with what has fallen from my friend, the Honourable Sir E. Holberton. If I am able to judge the feeling of this House, I think the general opinion is that the Honourable Mr. Sethna should not withdraw this Resolution, but should press it. He has already given us the full history of the circumstances under which the scholarships were created, and from the quotations which he has freely made from the will of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, it is perfectly clear that no distinction of race or creed was contemplated by the generous donor, and that, if he had been alive to-day, he would have perhaps extended the same generosity to the Indian Empire. Further, it is my opinion that after the definite statement made by the Honourable Mr. Richey to-day, that the purport of this Resolution has already been telegraphed to the Secretary of State, and that he has received an encouraging reply from him stating in clear terms that, if this Council passes this Resolution, he will be pleased to place it before the Secretary, so that it may be placed before the Trustees at their next meeting,—in view of that definite statement,—I think it would be a mistake to withdraw this Resolution. I am, therefore, not at all in accord with the sentiments expressed by my friend, the Honourable Mr. Froom or the Honourable Sardar Jogendra Singh, that out of self-respect we should not ask a grant of this nature. There is no question of self-respect in my opinion, at all, involved in making a request of this kind. The Scholarship which was founded by Mr. Cecil Rhodes was, as I understand, of a very broad and national character, and though there may be a good many people in India who may be ready to endow large sums of money for the purpose of creating similar scholarships, as pointed out by some Honourable Members, in my opinion, that is no reason at all for refraining to assert the claims of India in a matter in which, I think, the interests of this country are likely to be served.

11-56 A.M. The HONOURABLE SIR ZULFIQAR ALI KHAN: Sir, the Resolution which is now before the House has evoked rather an interesting discussion, and I feel induced to say something on the subject. We have heard some arguments for and against the proposition put forward by the Honourable Mr. Sethna, and other speakers, and I am strongly inclined to think that what the Honourable Sardar Jogendra Singh and Mr. Froom have just said is the correct attitude with regard to this Resolution. The Honourable Mr.

E. Holberton has said that Mr. Cecil Rhodes was a citizen of the Empire, and therefore there is no shame in accepting what he endowed for the whole Empire. But, Sir, the great consideration which attaches to this argument is this, that Mr. Cecil Rhodes made his fortune in South Africa, and therefore the Indians can lay no legitimate claim to a share in that fortune. And, besides, Sir, the hostile attitude adopted by the South African representatives this time in the Imperial Conference was such as to induce the people of this country to refuse a charity, so to speak, at the hands of the South African people. I therefore say that it is humiliating to the self-respect and dignity of this country to accept any such thing, which, I believe, was not meant for India.

The HONOURABLE SIR JOHN WOOD: I move that the question be now put.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think the Council is now in a position to come to a decision on this matter, and I will call on the Honourable Mr. Sethna to reply.

12-1 P.M.

The HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA: Sir, I am thankful to those Members who have taken part in this discussion, and particularly so to the Government Member who expressed his cordial sympathy with the Resolution which I have brought forward. Before referring to what fell from him, I may in brief refer to the discordant note sounded by two of the speakers who expressed sentiments with which I hope the majority of my Honourable Colleagues will not see their way to agree.

Cecil Rhodes was as much an Englishman as any other, and I think we are just as much entitled to ask the Trustees to give us the benefit of his benefaction as that of any other Englishman. I may remind Honourable Members of a similar request made many years ago, and by which many Indians have profited, I mean the Gilchrist Scholarships.

I need not enlarge upon this point as the Honourable Sir Edgar Holberton and the Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy have replied to it effectively. With regard to my Honourable friend, Mr. Froom, he has made a suggestion which I regret I am unable to accept. Even the Government Member has said that he would not consider it undignified for the Council to pass this Resolution. I may remind my Honourable friend, Mr. Froom, of a proverb in the vernacular, which says that even a mother will not give milk to her child unless it cries for it. Therefore, Sir, if there are these scholarships available, and if it is possible to obtain them, there is absolutely nothing wrong on the part of this country asking for the same.

Now, Sir, as to the two points mentioned by the Honourable Mr. Richey. He said that everything will depend (1) upon the interpretation of the wishes of the donor, and (2) that it will also depend upon the funds at the disposal of the Trustees. As regards the interpretation of the wishes of the donor, from the quotation which I read out, namely, clause (*iv*) of the Bill, the donor must have intended not to leave out any part of the Empire. The Trustees chose to word the clause as they have done, and as I have read it, according to this clause, they have taken to themselves the power of extending these scholarships to any Colony, dependency or any place within the British Empire. I therefore, contend, Sir, that the interpretation is wide enough. But what is more, from the quotations I have given, it will be seen that the Trustees or

[Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna.]

Executors have been given very wide powers, so that they may adapt and convert these benefactions according to change of time and circumstances. Again, Sir, I think that in the original will there is no mention of Jamaica and Barbados, whereas we find they have now given scholarships to both.....

The HONOURABLE MR. A. H. FROOM: There was provision in the original will.

The HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA: I stand corrected. Now as regards the second point, regarding the funds at their disposal, the Honourable Mr. Froom pointed out, and I have also stated in my own remarks, that the revenue at the disposal of the Trustees is a large one and a growing one, inasmuch as life interest has been given to some relations and friends of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, so that when they die the amounts reserved for them will go to swell the amount at the disposal of the Trustees, from which they can give additional scholarships. Further, Sir, in the codicil there is mention of only five German scholarships, whereas we find that in the Bill this number has risen to 12, which shows that the number of scholarships is gradually increasing; and I do believe that the Trustees and Executors will have more funds at their disposal and consequently will be able to help India if they like. I thank Government for accepting the Resolution.

The Resolution was adopted.

RESOLUTION *Re* :STOPPAGE OF EXPORT OF WHEAT.

The HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: Sir, I rise to move the following Resolution, that— 12-5 P.M.

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to stop the export of wheat or flour out of India till the next *Rabi* harvest and to take necessary steps to lower the high prices of other food-stuffs.'

Sir, the question of high prices has now become so serious, that every person, from the highest to the lowest grade, is very hard hit; and I think the Honourable Members of this Council will agree with me when I say that these high prices have acted a great deal in helping the non-co-operation movement. When these non-co-operators go to villages and to the ignorant people and say that these high prices are due to bad administration of government, to the wrong policy of taxation, loans, gold standard and so on, they at once believe them and admit that the high prices are the outcome of the bad administration of the British Government. Therefore, the situation has now become very serious, and all of us here, as well as outside the Council and also the Government, should think out what can be done to relieve the present position. Sir, so far as I remember, in no famine in this country did the rates rise so high as they are now. In the biggest famine of 1878 or 1879, the rate of wheat never went down below 6 or 7 seers a rupee, whereas now it is only 4½ seers to the rupee. I am glad to see that the Government of India have stopped the export of wheat and flour up to the next *Rabi* harvest; but I may say that this step has been taken rather too late. The average yield of wheat in this country is about 9 million tons; the yield this year was only 6 million tons, while we required for our people not less than 8 million tons, which shows that the yield this year was about 2 million tons less than what is required for our own maintenance. When there was no surplus, I wonder why the Government of India allowed any export of wheat at all out of the country.

(At this stage, the Honourable the President vacated the Chair, and the Honourable Sir Dinshaw Wacha occupied it.)

Sir, I have made some calculations; and if they are correct, I find that in this country a total of 76 million tons of all grains is produced. For our own maintenance, for the maintenance of the whole of the population of India, we require not less than 72 or 71 million tons every year, for the people as well as for our cattle and for seed. I have got several figures here and they show that we require about 50 million tons for the people, about 20 million tons for our cattle and about 2 million tons for seed; the total comes to about 71 or 72 million tons. The ordinary total yield is about 76 million tons, which gives a surplus of only 5 or 6 millions to be exported. This year the yield has been very little and there was hardly any surplus to be exported.

Now the question arises as to what has led to these high prices. It is a very difficult question to solve, but, so far as I can see, I think the reasons which have led to these high prices may be said to be these. First, there was no control on the export of food-stuffs, not only upon wheat, but upon other grains also. The second is, that there was less import of rice from Burma. That has also had a great effect on the price of rice and wheat in this country. The third reason, to my mind, is that this year on account of high prices the tenants have hoarded up some of the grain either for speculation or for their own use. Another reason was that there was a great shortage of wagons, with the result that it was not possible to take grains from one place to another in the country. For instance, if there was any cheap grain in one place, it was very difficult to take it to those places where the prices were higher, and, therefore, the high prices could not be relieved by getting cheap grain from places where it was abundant and the prices cheaper. Sir, similar is the case with other food-stuffs like milk and ghee, and we require these things every day for our tea, for our food, and for so many other purposes. The prices of these things have also gone up abnormally high. Now the question arises as to what can be done to relieve the present situation. I hope the Members of this Council will state their experience and their views on this subject, but I think the steps that should be immediately taken are that whatever grain is now stored at the sea-ports of Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta should not be allowed to be exported, and, if possible, should be sent back to those places from where it was taken. More Burma rice should be allowed to be imported into this country, because a large portion of the population in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and even in the United Provinces and the Punjab, depends upon rice, and I have no doubt this will relieve the situation to a large extent. Then, again, the railway authorities should be asked to supply more wagons to grain merchants in order to bring grain from one place to another when they can manage to do so. At present wagons are not sufficiently supplied, and the grain merchants feel a great want of them, and this should be remedied as soon as possible.

Another question now before us is, what should be done for the future. It is a very big problem for the Government to solve. Of course, the present situation can be solved by accepting the suggestions that I have laid above, but the great question to solve is, what we should do and what Government should do for the future, so that such a situation may not arise again. Sir, to my mind, the present produce per acre of land in this country is very small. If we compare the figures of produce in this country with other countries, they will be found to be very startling. The produce of wheat per acre in this country is only about 11 bushels; while in Denmark it is about 33 bushels; in

[Lala Sukhbir Sinha.]

Spain 14 bushels, France 13 bushels, Great Britain 29 bushels. It should be remembered that these countries are not agricultural, while India is an agricultural country. Then, again, the produce of wheat per acre in the Netherlands is 30 bushels, Sweden 23 bushels, Switzerland 32 bushels, Canada 17 bushels, United States 14 bushels, Japan 32 bushels and Egypt 29 bushels.

(At this stage the Honourable Sir Dinshaw Wacha vacated and the Honourable the President resumed the Chair.)

Now, Sir, from this we can see that India produces the smallest per acre, and there must be some reasons for this, but I am sorry that never has any serious attempt been made by the Government or the people to obtain more produce from land. Government no doubt has started Agricultural Departments in every Province, and they have a big Department here to control all the Provincial Departments. But as a man of some experience, as an agriculturist and as a big landholder myself, I can say that very little practical steps have been taken by these Departments. When India is an agricultural country, when we have everything available which Nature can give us, as regards manure, abundant water-supply and a fertile land, there is no reason why we should not be able to produce more than any other country on the face of this earth can produce. Sir, in order to get more produce from land, there are several factors which require investigation, and I will draw the attention of the Honourable Member in charge of the Revenue and Agriculture Department to give his full attention to these factors. If we can get more produce from land, we shall have it in abundance, not only for internal consumption, but also for export, in which case we shall have no objection to allow export from this country. I think that my Honourable friend, Sardar Jogendra, Singh will oppose the Resolution on the point of export. Last March I remember he moved a Resolution in this Council and I supported him in the matter of allowing exports. But, Sir, in this case when we find that we have no surplus to spare, when we find that we have hardly enough grain even for our own consumption, I do not know how far we shall be justified in saying that we should allow exports from this country. If we try to get more produce from land, we shall be able not only to maintain ourselves, but also to allow exports to other countries; but when there is no surplus, how can any export be allowed? To get more produce from land, the first thing to which we should devote our attention is to increase the bullock power, because until the land is properly tilled and ploughed, we cannot expect to get more produce. So far as my calculation goes, the bullock power here is only one-fourth of what it ought to be. The latest figures supplied to me so kindly by my friend, Mr. Hullah, Secretary to the Revenue and Agriculture Department, show that the total number of bullocks in this country is 43 millions, and of ploughs 23 millions. Deducting about half the bullocks from this total as doing other work of cartage, etc., and being infirm and old, there remain about 22 million bullocks for 11 million ploughs. The total number of acres ploughed is about 228 millions. That shows that one pair of bullocks has to plough about 20 acres, instead of 5 acres, the maximum which shows that the bullock power in this country is only one-fourth of what it should have been.

The question of manure is another very important thing. The villagers do not get sufficient manure. Whatever they get they burn for cooking food and for other purposes, and some steps should be taken to supply them with manure either from outside or from their own villages, and also scientific methods be

introduced by which they can improve their stock of manure and how to store it should be explained to them.

Well, Sir, I do not wish to take up too much of the time of this Council in discussing this question, but I do want to impress upon it that bone manure is the best of all. On some other occasion I propose to move a Resolution on this question, but that will be later on. I would add that I am not alone in saying that bone manure is the best because all the experts admit it.....

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. The Honourable Member must not give expression in anticipation to remarks which are relevant only to another Resolution of which he has given notice.

The HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: After this comes the question of irrigation. In some Provinces the supply of canal water has reached its maximum. In the United Provinces, I think a new Sarda canal is being constructed, but no further extensions can be made. In the Punjab, I think one more scheme for a canal is going to be taken in hand. I would suggest that well irrigation be extended by putting pumps on wells and that more rain water should be utilised than is done at the present time. In this country out of about 37 inches of rain-fall, only about 2 inches were used for the purposes of irrigation, while about 13 inches passed off as waste. If steps be taken to reserve more rain-fall and to bring in some other systems of artificial irrigation, the country would be much better off.

There is one more point, Sir, and that is the question of cattle. In order to increase bullocks, I would strongly urge that the question of providing pasture land and dairy farms and putting a stop to the slaughter of cattle be carefully considered. If we shall have more bullocks and cows, I am sure the prices of foodstuffs, grain, milk and ghee are bound to go down, and I believe that if the Government, with the co-operation of the people, will do this, people will have more produce from the land and the scarcity will pass off very soon, making the people quite happy and contented. With these few remarks, Sir, I move my Resolution in the hope that Honourable Members of this Council will be in full sympathy with it, and that they will give us their views and experience in regard to this subject.

12-23 P.M.

The HONOURABLE COLONEL SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: Sir, my path regarding this Resolution is cut and dried because as a Zemindar, I must oppose it. You, Sir, and the Council, will remember that we had a Resolution in Delhi last Session, and in the course of its debate my Honourable friend who has moved this Resolution helped us a great deal. But now he seems to have changed his mind, and we can now judge how much of a Zemindar he is. In my opinion the reason for the present scarcity is not because grain is being exported. This is incorrect. The Government of the Punjab have made inquiries into this question and have approached various firms on the subject, and they have come to the conclusion that the rumours are wrong. Neither a firm like Ralli Brothers nor any other firm can buy at the present high rates and be in a position to be able to sell it again. If I remember correctly, I think we Zemindars passed a Resolution in this Council to the effect that there should be no restrictions, and I appeal to my Honourable friends not to go back on their word. It would be quite a different thing if the Government thought it fit to bring in an Ordinance to change it; but to pass a Resolution like this to-day, in view of the Resolution which this Council accepted last Session would, in my opinion, be very wrong. You are all selected from

[Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan.]

different parts of the country, and to decide on a question and then contradict yourselves would be a most improper course to take ....

(The Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha rose to his feet.)

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. The Honourable Member has no right to rise in his seat and interrupt another Member who is speaking, unless that Member gives way because the Member who is speaking is in possession of the House. The Honourable Member must therefore reserve any remarks he may wish to make until the termination of the speech of the Member who is speaking, unless that Member is willing to give way. I have already given that ruling on several occasions.

The HONOURABLE COLONEL SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: Then, again, Sir, the Government have promised that we shall have cheap grain shops; they will be very useful. And there is a Fund in existence called the Famine Relief Fund. I think it is high time that that Fund saw the light of day and proved itself worthy of its existence.

It is a well-known thing throughout the country that whenever there is a tax, it is always put on to the Zemindars. Zemindars are not the wealthiest people in the country, why should not others be taxed to the same extent? Wealthier people should be taxed more—they spend their money as they like—that question, I venture to suggest, is one which the Government should take up, so as to get more money and run cheap grain shops for the benefit of the country. Some merchants buy up a lot of foodstuffs and hoard it till the prices go up, and then they sell it at a big profit. I think the Government ought to step in and inform them not to do so.

My Honourable friend who has moved this Resolution has given us a few calculations which I suppose he has worked out very carefully. To use a mild expression, I would say that I do not think they are accurate. For instance, my Honourable friend says that the Government has got no institution where people can be taught to produce more foodstuffs. I am afraid that it is not correct, because there is a college at Lyallpur where people are taught agricultural subjects, and where the various seeds like No. 8 and No. 11 are produced. I send some of my own men there so I am in a position to state facts. Now the Honourable Mover said that something like 20 acres are ploughed by a *hull*. I am not making a personal attack on my friend but am only chaffing him....

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. The Honourable Member must address his remarks to the Chair.

The HONOURABLE COLONEL SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: I beg your pardon, Sir. I will approach my Honourable friend through the Chair. In my Province the bullocks are much better than some of the bullocks I have seen in the United Provinces and they cannot do as much as 20 acres.

Then my Honourable friend referred to canals and he is again incorrect in his statement, because in my Province there are schemes under contemplation and also in Sind, besides various other places, and I think it will take something like 50 years before these schemes and these canals are completed.

In conclusion, Sir, may I again express the hope that the Government Member, who very kindly gave us an undertaking that very shortly the restrictions on the export of food-grains would be removed, though it was a long time past, will not, instead of fulfilling his promise, forget it or go back on it,

The HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: SIR, I fail to perceive the utility of this Resolution after the definite statement—at least as regards the first part of this Resolution—made by His Excellency the Viceroy the other day in Council that no grains would be allowed to be exported from India till the 31st of March next, and I, therefore, presume that the object which my Honourable friend has in view in introducing this Resolution in Council is to invite an academic discussion on the latter portion of his Resolution, namely, that in which he asks Government to take the necessary steps to lower the high prices of food-grains. 12-31 P.M.

I will at once state that the question of food-grains is of vital importance to the country and, in view of the fact that since the cessation of the war for the last three years the prices instead of going down have steadily increased, has given a great deal of concern and anxiety to the people of the country. But I am unable to see what steps Government could possibly take to lower the high prices of food-stuffs, and in this connection I expected to hear some concrete or constructive schemes or suggestions from my Honourable friend, Lala Sukhbir Sinha, but unfortunately in the long speech which he has just delivered, though he has somewhat digressed from the real issue and commented on the productive capacity of the country and the productive power of the soil of India as compared with other countries, he was not at all in a position to throw any material light on the subject.

I shall not speak about the productive power of the Indian soil or the yield which in India we can obtain per acre as compared with other countries, nor shall I answer his charge of inanition against Government because the Government Member is here and my Honourable friend, Mr. Sarma, will give him a complete reply on that point. But I may, in passing, in this connection, as well ask my friend, the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha (and he himself says that he is a great Zamindar) what steps has he himself taken to improve the cultivation of his land to bring it in conformity with the standards of other European nations, what scientific measures, what scientific appliances has he himself adopted in his own part of the land for the purpose of improving the yield of the soil? If Zamindars of the capacity and great wealth of my Honourable friend, Lala Sukhbir Sinha, take a lead in the matter, I think that it will be a great day for this country, and they will do more good than attacking Government in season and out of season on the ground of their supposed inefficiency or inability to adopt suitable measures.

At the same time, Sir, the subject which my friend has touched is of considerable importance, and I hope that several Members will join in this debate and place before Government constructive schemes, if possible, in order to see if the prices of foodgrains could be lowered. To my mind, the whole difficulty is due to economic causes. It is impossible to ascribe these high rates of foodstuffs to any one single cause. There are a combination of causes, there are world factors besides which are operating since the closing of the last great war, and which have induced not only the prices of foodgrains to rise in this country, but in other countries. I also think the causes are more or less symptomatic. They are in conformity with the rise of prices in European countries. So far as the total yield of the country is concerned, it is not after all seriously small, and, with this year's plentiful monsoon, I do not share the apprehensions of my friend, the Mover of the Resolution, as regards the volume of the next crop.

[Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy.]

As the Council is aware, a great deal of profiteering is still going on. The great cause of this increase,—to my mind, the vital cause—is profiteering by merchants. I do not think there has been a substantial reduction in the aggregate quantity. Of course, our last two harvests have suffered in comparison with the previous harvests, but many of you must have noticed that the activities of the profiteers during the last two years have been very considerable. I know, from personal knowledge, that in some parts of the Province to which I belong, large stocks of foodgrains were held by big and wealthy merchants and that they were unwilling to part with their stocks under pressure of any kind. In this connection, of course, the system of control was brought into operation three years ago, but, as all of you know, that system of control has egregiously failed. The remedy was, to my mind, worse than the disease. The system of control gave much scope to corruption and also to the arbitrary exercise of certain powers which were resented by the people of this country and which also worked prejudicially to their interests. The great difficulty in this matter, to my mind, is not always the shortage of foodgrains, but at times the difficulty of transport. There may be in one part of the country or province large quantities of foodgrains which in the busy season which starts in November and ends in March, it is often very difficult to remove them. And therefore the difficulty of the consumer is considerably increased by the difficulty of transport. I was very pleased to see the other day that the Punjab Government has adopted a rather sagacious measure in the matter by issuing a Communiqué that the railway authorities in the Punjab had agreed to earmark a certain percentage of their wagons for the transport of foodstuffs, and that indents for wagons for foodstuffs would receive priority. I would appeal to the Government in this matter and trust they would see their way to impress upon all Provincial Governments and also upon the Railway Board the desirability of giving some sort of similar preference for the transport of foodgrains throughout India. If that is done, I think a certain measure of relief will be obtained, though I will not say that that relief will be wholly adequate or complete.

I would also suggest that, in the matter of foodgrains, the Provincial Governments, either through municipalities, wherever they exist, or through their local boards, should have some sort of survey of their food stocks periodically undertaken and when these surveys are completed, (of course it will be impossible to effectively deal with people who have large stocks of grain for absence of statutory powers), Government at any rate can issue executive instructions to the railway authorities that they should not supply wagons to those merchants and other profiteers who have got large stocks already on hand or in their godowns and who refuse to unload them. These people when they are able to obtain railway facilities give large orders for wagons, and when they have accumulated their stocks by cornering the market, they wait for such time till they can unload their stocks at considerably higher and ruinous rates.

So, I say that if something is done to prevent these people who keep large stocks in their hand from obtaining further facilities in the matter of transport, it will, in some measure, alleviate the difficulty. In this connection, as I said before, it is very difficult to suggest any constructive proposals, but I think that it will not be a bad idea for the local authorities, as well as for philanthropic citizens, whenever they find that in a particular area the prices of foodgrains are very heavy, to adopt in combination certain measures for opening rival grain-shops and to sell grain at a comparatively lower rate than that at which it is sold by traders. That would be one other method of attaining the object in view.

I do not at all, in suggesting these remedies, for a moment, urge that they are comprehensive remedies for securing the object in view. It is very very difficult in a matter like this to suggest anything very practical. But these are the few suggestions that I can possibly contribute on the subject. I shall be very glad if other Honourable Members who follow me have any other proposals to make, because the matter is of very vital importance and should not be treated with the levity with which my Honourable friend, Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, has considered it.

As regards export, I think I would be wanting in all fairness if I did not congratulate the Honourable Mr. Sarma for his sagacious obstinacy during the last Delhi Session in resisting our proposal then to remove the embargo on the export of food-stuffs The events that have taken place since we last met in Delhi have fully justified the position then taken up by him on behalf of Government.. However, I must urge at the same time that there are other vital questions so much interwoven with the question of export that this embargo on export should not be allowed to remain a day longer than is absolutely necessary. Because, if you stop the export of food-grains, the producer is the person who, in the first instance, seriously suffers. If you allow free exports, the prices which the producer will obtain for his goods will be comparatively much higher than when the exports are stopped and only the needs of the local population are to be supplied. And, after all, as you know, it is the producer who has to be watched and protected in interest of the agricultural prosperity of the country. If he gets higher rates for his produce, he will go on cultivating food-stuffs. When the price of cotton, two years ago, was very very high, when cotton was sold at Rs. 700 per candy, what was the result ? The following sowing season people went in for the sowing of cotton and not the other food-stuffs. A larger area was sown the following year with cotton. In conclusion, I appeal to the Honourable Member that as soon as circumstances permit, as soon as our harvest for the year in question has been secured and absolutely assured, not a day should be lost by Government in removing this embargo. I would also suggest to my Honourable friend, the Mover, that after the discussion that has taken place on this Resolution, and I presume his only intention in introducing it was to bring to the attention of Government the present serious position regarding high prices, he will see his way not to press his Motion.

12-45 P. M.

The HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI : Sir, I would just make one or two observations very briefly before the Honourable Mr. Sarma rises to make a reply on behalf of Government. Generally speaking, Sir, two factors contribute to the rise of prices. The first of these can always be, and has been so in this country, the export of grain from this country to other countries. The second cause, so far as I can see, can be cornering and profiteering by those who are engaged in this trade. On the first point, the Government have issued a Communiqué. His Excellency the Viceroy also dealt with the matter in his speech with which he opened the Session of the Legislature. I must join the Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy in congratulating the Honourable Mr. Sarma in stoutly refusing last March to remove the embargo on the export of foodstuffs. That being so, it seems to me that the only other cause that can operate to raise prices can be the holding of large stocks by those who are interested in the trade. That, I must say, is a matter on which not sufficient information is forthcoming, and it is therefore very difficult for us to discuss that proposition. Therefore, without moving any formal Amendment, I would simply suggest whether the

[Saiyid Raza Ali.]

Government would not be prepared to appoint a small Committee of two or three Members to go into the question and to visit the important centres of trade... ..

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. If the Honourable Member wishes to make the suggestion, I must ask him to bring it forward in the form of an Amendment. It has been suggested once this morning, and I thoroughly agree with those remarks, that it is not fair to bring these matters forward by way of suggestion. If the Honourable Member thinks that he should bring up the point, it should be in the form of an Amendment.

The HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI : I hope, Sir, that as the Honourable Mover has requested in the Resolution, the Government will take necessary steps to lower the prices of foodstuffs. I do not know what steps Government propose to take. But the method I have suggested is one of those steps that are surely open to Government. I do not want to bring any Amendment, but I simply thought that that suggestion was covered by the last words of the Resolution. I do not think I need take up more of the time of this Council, and I would simply content myself with making that suggestion.

12-49 P.M.

The HONOURABLE MR. B. N. SARMA : Sir, the subject-matter of this Resolution has been naturally exercising the minds not only of the officers of Government, but of the public at large, and I sympathise with the desire of the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha to invite a discussion in this Council of a problem which is of essential importance to the welfare of the country. I am glad I have been able to give him a Government day for the discussion of the subject. It is clear now that the first part of this Resolution is unnecessary, inasmuch as the Government has already announced its policy of not relaxing the embargo on the export of wheat and wheat flour, except to the extent mentioned already in the Communiqué till the 31st March, 1922, because the word, " next *rabi* harvest " is rather vague, and the 31st of March, 1922, would practically comprise the period. I think we have therefore complied with the request made in the first part of the proposition.

What I was anxious about was to hear constructive suggestions as to the further steps, if any, which the Government, as a result of this discussion, might adopt to lower the prices of foodstuffs in general. I take it that the Honourable Member, when he used the words " other foodstuffs," was perfectly satisfied with the measures already adopted in respect of wheat and consequently that he wishes to see as to whether the Government can take steps towards lowering the prices of rice and other foodstuffs which are admittedly high. But I shall, however, deal with the subject of foodstuffs generally.

There is not the slightest doubt that the people are seriously embarrassed by the sudden rise of prices of foodstuffs, especially of wheat during the last few weeks. There is no apparent cause for this sudden rise inasmuch as no new factors have been introduced into the country accounting for this rise, nor does the world position in general justify it. We know, as a matter of fact, that the price of wheat in Australia and other countries is much lower than in this country, and merchants have already taken steps to import wheat from Australia into the country, because it pays them to do so, and the Government have tried to encourage them to do so by permitting the export of wheat flour to the extent of fifty per cent. of what is manufactured in the flour mills of this country from the quantities so imported. There is no doubt that last year's crop was a deficient crop as we anticipated it would be, perhaps a little more deficient than we expected it to be. It is 6,700,000 tons and not

6,000,000 as put by the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha, but even taking that the production is so low, there is no reason to apprehend that there is not enough stock in the country to keep the country going till the next *rabi* harvest, because the previous year's crop was 10,000,000, and therefore the crop of the two years put together would be about 16,800,000, and we have not exported more than 3 or 400,000 of wheat during this period. Consequently, even assuming that the normal requirements of the country would be about 8,000,000 and odd, there must be enough wheat stocks in the country to maintain the people till the next *rabi* harvest, and therefore the Government do not think that the rise is due to any depletion of the stocks of wheat in this country. There is no doubt that there was some misapprehension in the minds of the people with regard to the price ruling in foreign countries, with regard to the policy of the Government whether they would remove the embargo on export, with regard to the quantities which have been exported from this country to foreign countries, and it may be that these factors, to a certain extent, brought about this sudden rise, especially in the Punjab. But it is unnecessary to expatiate upon them, because Government have already taken steps to show that there is absolutely no foundation for many of these misunderstandings and misapprehensions. No quantities of wheat beyond those that have been already communicated to the country have been permitted during the last few months. There has been an absolute prohibition, except to the extent already mentioned in this Council on previous occasions, not merely with regard to wheat, but with regard to rice and other foodstuffs, and consequently there is nothing that the Government could have done in the way of retaining within the country foodstuffs produced in this country, which has not been done during the last year or the last two years. But apart from that, there is ground for us to be a little optimistic as to the future. Crop reports from all over the country are clearly indicative of our being able to reap rich harvests in the next few months. The condition of the crops up to the present is described as fair in Burma, fairly good in Assam, fair in Bengal, good in Bihar and Orissa, good in the United Provinces, normal in the Punjab, thriving in Rajputana and Bombay, fairly good in Central India, and very good in the Central Provinces, and in Madras also, except in one or two east coast districts, the condition of the crops is very good. Consequently, during the next few months, inasmuch as we are likely to reap good *kharif* crops, the harvest is likely to go towards reducing the dependence of the people upon rice and wheat, and we anticipate a decline in the price of *jawar*, *bajra* and other food-crops and a consequent decline in the price of wheat as well as of rice. There are indications already that the maximum has been reached and that the prices are slowly declining. Wheat has declined from 9-14 to 9-6 in Lyallpur, and we see in Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta there has been a slow decline. With regard to rice, the price in Bombay has been fairly steady although it has increased during the previous few months. In Calcutta, it continues to be steady at 6-3. In Madras, it has fallen from 7-6 to 6-14. In Cawnpore, it has shown a decline from 8-5 to 7-13. In Nagpur, it is steady and in Patna, there has been a decline from 7-4-6 to 6-6-6. The latter figures that I am quoting are figures that we have had up to the 14th September. The price of *bajra* is unfortunately still high, in Bombay, it is steady, in the Punjab and Sindh, it shows a decline of 12 annas. In *jawar* there has been a decline during the recent few weeks. Consequently, both from the crop reports that we have received from the various Provinces, as well as the

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indications we have in the decline in prices, I do not think that the country need be very apprehensive as to the immediate future. That does not mean that the Government are not apprehensive of the enormous increase which has already taken place, which even now obtains in the price of foodstuffs, because compared with pre-war prices, compared with the prices which obtained even in 1919, the prices obtaining at the present moment are very high, and consequently there must be a good deal of distress especially among the poorer classes throughout the country. But one significant feature which gives room for satisfaction is, that the figures regarding famine works, figures showing the number of people relieved from their distress in the various Provinces point to a steady decline in almost every affected Province, and that shows that the people are able to withstand this high price to a remarkably satisfactory extent. Government have been considering what further steps should be taken towards reducing still further the prices of these foodstuffs.

As Honourable Members are aware it is a very difficult problem, and we are fully conscious of the fact that any tinkering with trade or the interruption of the normal channels of trade would only make the remedy worse than the disease. There may be temporary relief afforded here and there, which may perhaps give some short-lived satisfaction. When the Government tried the experiment by introducing the Commerce Ordinance into the Punjab and Bengal, there was momentary relief, but the net result was that imports into districts where the food-grain stocks were low were interrupted and the prices grew to abnormally high dimensions. Consequently, Honourable Members, I feel sure, would support the Government in their desire not to interfere with trade as far as it may be possible to do so. Whatever could be done has been done and is being done. Encouragement is being given to the import of wheat. Encouragement is given by way of relaxing the embargo on the export of wheat flour from such imported wheat. With regard to rice, we have already stopped the export of rice from Burma to foreign countries, and the remaining quantity would be available to India and to countries dependent upon India. Exports to countries with a large Indian population has been the policy pursued by the Government unswervingly during the last two years, and I am sure that no Honourable Member here would ask the Government to depart from that policy of trying to meet the conveniences and the needs of the Indian population overseas. In respect of rice, therefore, we have taken all the steps that we could. The price of rice no doubt has risen abnormally in Burma. The Burma Government, which naturally had some doubts about what ought to be the correct attitude of the Government in this respect, is now somewhat anxious to see that prices do not go up further, and I am sure that with the co-operation of the people of Burma, the Burma Government, the Burma merchants and the Indian public in general and the bright prospects of the rice crop, the rice situation will be rendered easier and more satisfactory. With regard to *jawar*, *bajra*, *ragi* and the other food-grains on which the poorer classes of the people depend, we have no reason to believe that the next few months would not bring in a rich harvest.

Now, Sir, Honourable Members and the public, I hope, will be able to realise that we have to a certain extent given protection to the people of this country which may not long be permitted to continue, and the recent rise in prices is clearly indicative that the Government have done all that they could in order to provide a check over a rise in the price of foodstuffs. We

prevented wheat being purchased by any merchant for export at a price higher than Rs. 5-8-0, and while that Government prohibition continued we had reason to believe that the price mounted up to Rs. 5-12-0, 6-0-0, and it has since risen to 9-14-0, and it is now 9-6-0 at Lyallpur, though lower elsewhere. Of course it is bound to go down because it has been artificially raised to a figure which it ought never to have reached, because at that price it would pay a merchant to import wheat from abroad and consequently it is bound to go down to Rs. 8-14-0 or 8-12-0 at current rates. It cannot be maintained at the present rate at which it is being sold in the Punjab. But it will be foolish for us at the same time to expect that the prices would go down very low—to the same extent as they did occupy in pre-war times or in 1919 when our prices were lower than the world price. Consequently, while we may expect reasonably a fall in the price of wheat within the next few weeks owing to the imports of foreign wheat, it may not be unreasonable to expect the maintenance of a fairly high standard of price until possibly the next harvest comes. Of course it cannot be gainsaid that the previous harvest taken along with the balance of the crop of 1919-20 could be sufficient for the needs of the people during this year. But we are proceeding on statistical calculations, and we do not know where we are wrong and whether we are wrong in this particular respect. The Government of the Punjab and the Government of the United Provinces, which are the Governments principally concerned in this question, have during the last few weeks been instituting inquiries as to the immediate causes of the rise and how it can be remedied, and Honourable Members have already been told what steps are being taken by these Governments for this purpose by way of helping municipalities and local boards which are desirous of maintaining cheap grain shops. It is sometimes glibly talked as if the Central Government and Exchequer could rush to the rescue of the Provincial Governments and enable the people to buy grain at cheap rates. The Government of India are no longer responsible for famine expenditure. Subject to certain restrictions, that policy is now entirely in the hands of the Provincial Governments, and no Central Funds can be utilised for this purpose. Nor is there any indication of any desire to take advantage of famine relief as is clearly evident from the fact that the number of persons on relief works and receiving gratuitous relief generally has been steadily declining. But apart from that the cost would be prohibitive. Assuming that the normal production of food-grains is about 60 million tons for British India, it has been computed by the Honourable Mr. Innes to be roughly an average of about 57 during the five years preceding 1917-18 and about 62 in 1918-19, the normal export being about 2½ million tons from India proper which is a very low margin, about 5 million tons of food-stuffs are required in British India monthly. If the Government wants to help the people by reducing the price even to the extent of one rupee, it will cost them about 13½ crores per month or 162 crores per year. I do not know wherefrom this money can be found. If Honourable Members and the public can devise ways by which this huge sum of money can be found for the purpose of reducing artificially the price which must be paid, having regard to the normal level of prices, then some way could be found for it, but it seems to me to be such a gigantic task that no Legislative Council or Government would ever undertake, apart from the wisdom of the adoption of such a course. I only mention this for the purpose of removing a misapprehension that the Government has some means by which it could, if it chose, bring down prices, but that it does not exercise that power. Taking the total amount of wheat consumption per annum, at the figure

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mentioned by the Honourable Mover, it works out to be 18 million maunds per month. Eighteen million maunds per month at one rupee would mean a crore and 80 lakhs. Where United Provinces or Bihar or the Punjab are to find 2 crores of rupees per month is more than I can say. The figures would be smaller of course if the relief be limited to particular classes. Therefore, the country must be prepared to face, gradually no doubt, this position, namely, that it cannot be artificially protected and that it must be prepared to buy at world prices. It is the bounden duty of the public as well as the Government to make the transitional stage as easy as possible. I think I have already explained the measures that have been taken by the Government, and if Honourable Members would suggest any other measures they would be happy to adopt them if they are practicable. The Honourable Saiyid Raza Ali threw out a hint that a Committee might be appointed. I do not myself think that very great good will come out of that Committee. We had a Committee sitting during the life of the old Council, and I shall not have the slightest objection to invite as many members as may be interested in the matter to help me, when necessary, with suggestions and to devise ways and means by which we can alleviate the sufferings of the people. It need not be a formal Committee. It need not be appointed by a Resolution of the Government or of the Council, and I shall always be willing to receive the help of any members of this Council, the other House or the outside public in solving this problem.

I do not think it is necessary for me to go into the other points that have been mentioned by the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha. I think the Honourable Mover was absolutely wrong in his remarks which may be construed as charging the Government with not doing its duty in not taking steps to increase the productive capacity of the soil or increasing the food production of the country. The question of aggregate food production has only got a relatively remote bearing on the immediate issue before us. The question as to what steps will have to be taken to increase food production in the near future or the distant future has got a bearing, no doubt, upon this Resolution, but I thought that what we were met for now is to devise what steps can be taken immediately to reduce the hardships of the people from this abnormal sudden rise of prices of some commodities. But I may remind the Honourable Member that the Government, as the public are already aware, have largely increased the irrigation facilities of the country, and they have during the last few months sent up to the Secretary of State large schemes and have either obtained his sanction, or are about to obtain his sanction to, projects worth crores of rupees, and that schemes costing 60 and 70 crores of rupees have been or are being worked out, and it only remains for the Local Legislatures and the people to find the ways and means for carrying out these projects which the Honourable Mover has so much at heart. If only we can find the people ready and willing to help us to find the means to carry out the projects we have on hand, the Sakkar Barrage project, the Sutlej Valley project, the Sardha project,—the Kistna and Metur project, the projects we have in Bengal and elsewhere—I am sure the food-production problem will to a great extent be solved. Nor is the Agriculture Department idle as the Honourable Member imagines. I think it is only those that have been watching the working of that Department who are aware of what great good has already been done by the officers of the Department in numerous ways, in analysing the soils, improving the quality of the seed, etc., in trying to combat disease among crops and cattle alike. It is

because in a poor country like ours, the means of finding money for the staffing, of its Departments and for carrying on our experiments, are very low and inelastic that nothing greater has been achieved. Give us the money, vote us the funds, and we shall show what we are capable of doing. I have nothing more to add.

1-20 P.M.

The HONOURABLE SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH: Sir, it was with no light heart in March last that I moved a Resolution to remove the embargo on the export of food. It is with no light heart again to-day that I am opposing this Resolution. But the speech which the Honourable the Revenue Member has just delivered has made my task very much easier. He has practically shown that, in spite of his personal wish to support the restrictions on the export of foodstuffs, it is simply impossible to do so. Politics for me have no other meaning but to increase the well-being, the self-respect and the freedom of the people. Neither the Honourable Mover of this Resolution nor the Honourable the Revenue Member have shown how the restriction on exports would lead to the betterment of the people who produce food. Let us examine the facts. Nine-tenths of our population produce their own food. Will the Honourable Member show if the price of their produce increases to keep pace with the increased price of production, such an increase is wrong in itself? If it is not wrong in itself, why should Government be thinking of adopting still further measures to keep it down? Does the Government want to keep the standard of happiness of villagers down by keeping prices down? Are the Government interfering with any other trade in India? Have they knowledge of all the factors that regulate prices? Whatever may be said, Sir, politics is one thing. One may like people to do certain things, but one cannot with impunity overlook the economic loss. The Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha was on sure ground when he spoke, though what he said had nothing to do with his Resolution about the need for increased produce from land, and the Honourable Revenue Member also in his concluding speech pointed out that the only way to regulate prices would be to increase the water-supply, to improve irrigation and other things, so that increased produce from land may meet the increased demand.

Let us now examine the question of distress. Certainly there is distress in certain parts. But I have had to do something with the famines in the United Provinces, and I have watched the famines in Bombay and other places also. Well, when it is said that the prices of foodstuffs were then low, I can certainly say that they were low then, and that they are high now. But neither the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha nor the Honourable Revenue Member have pointed out that the distress this year is greater than it was in former years, when the prices were low. Then how can it be said that the distress to-day is such that it requires special measures to protect the people?

The HONOURABLE SIR DINSHAW WACHA: I propose that the question be now put.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is that the question be now put. In order that there may be no misapprehension I will explain that the result of an answer to such a question in the affirmative is to deprive the Mover of the right of reply. If he wants to protect his right he must vote against the Motion.

The motion that the question be now put was put and agreed to unanimously.

[The President.]

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is that the following Resolution be adopted:—

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to stop the export of wheat or flour out of India till the next *rabi* harvest, and to take necessary steps to lower the high prices of other food-stuffs.'

The Council will now divide.

Before the result of the Division was announced, the Honourable Sardar Jogendra Singh rose and said: Sir, there is just one question I should like to ask.

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Does it relate to the Division?

The HONOURABLE SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH: Yes. Can a closure be moved when a Member is speaking?

The HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Certainly. A closure can be moved at any time.

The Council divided as follows:—

AYES—20.

Bray, Mr. Denys.	Nandy, Maharaja Sir M. C.
Craik, Mr. H. D.	Nayudu, Diwan Bahadur V. R.
Dadabhoy, Sir M. B.	Ram Saran Das, Rai Bahadur Lala.
Ganga Nath Jha, Mahamahopadhyaya, Dr.	Raza Ali, Saiyid.
Harnam Singh, Raja Sir.	Richey, Mr. J. A.
Keshava Prasad Singh, Maharaja Bahadur.	Sarma, Rao Bahadur B. N.
Lalubhai Samaldas, Mr.	Sethna, Mr. P. C.
Mitter, Sir B. C.	Sukhbir Sinha, Lala.
Mohammud Ismail Khan, Haji Chowdhuri.	Wood, Sir J. B.
Moti Chand, Raja.	Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir

NOES—11.

Froom, Mr. A. H.	Pratt, Mr. F. G.
Hammond, Mr. E. L. L.	Rampal Singh, Raja Sir.
Holberton, Sir E. J.	Umar Hayat Khan, Colonel Sir.
Jogendra Singh, Sardar.	Wacha, Sir Dinshaw.
Lloyd, Mr. E. S.	Zahir-ud-din, Khan Bahadur S.
Murray, Sir A. R.	

The Resolution was therefore adopted.

The Council then adjourned to Monday, the 19th instant, at 11 o'clock.